



Attorney General Ramsey Clark: The Wrong Man for the Job

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, 39, is winsome, witty, slow-spoken, quick-minded, homespun and humane, but he's not going to win any wars on crime.

Somewhere in this favored land there must be lawyers who are fitted by temperament and training to carry the title of a general-officer in the running battles against the enemies of American society. But Democratic Presidents can't seem to find them.

Mr. Kennedy picked his kid brother, and Mr. Johnson has picked two, Nicholas Katzenbach and Clark. It is as if these Presidents had chosen military commanders who are conscientious objectors and who faint at the sight of blood.

Twice within a week or so, Ramsey Clark has been on display for the character he bears. He was a limp witness in his own behalf before the National Press Club. A law-enforcement officer? No, but a worrier about social justice, and a hotspur for civil rights instead of a mailed fist against civil wrongs.

About the time Clark was telling us how terribly unfair and inadequate the American system of education and opportunity is, Stokely Carmichael was rampaging through Nashville on the crest of an organized riot. There he was exercising his academic freedom to disturb the peace on three college campuses and giving aid and comfort to just about every enemy we've got. Carmichael is a warlord of sorts. He needs an environment in which to operate. Well, Gen. Clark's sentimental attitude toward crime provides just the atmosphere in which Carmichael's sort of unholy terror can prosper, as it did under Bob Kennedy and Nick Katzenbach.



Attorney General Ramsey Clark addresses the National Press Club. Columnist Alexander says that Clark appears to be more interested in social reform than in law enforcement.

More recently, the cool and charming attorney general showed up to testify before Sen. McClellan's subcommittee on criminal laws and procedure. Again, the nation's top law-enforcement officer was on a character-revealing spot. You could tell from Clark's responses to the subcommittee's questions that his solution to the crime problem in America was the sociological one. Cops have got to study public relations, he told McClellan, and federal funds are needed to

teach school kids why they should obey the rules.

There may come a time and maybe a country where fellows like Ramsey Clark will shine in the role of law enforcement. But it is not now. It is not here.

McClellan remarked that the FBI had released new crime statistics since the last round of subcommittee hearings. Not surprisingly, major crimes around the nation took another statistical jump

—a bouncy 11 per cent—during 1966. The D.C. Metropolitan Police Department announced that serious crimes in February 1967 had increased by 32 per cent—633 new outrages, bringing the total to 2,631—over February 1966.

The glossy, 300-page (illustrated) Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Katzenbach, chairman), has added another hand-wringing lament on the nation's plight. Just about everything has been done to prove how much American officialdom disapproves of crime—everything, that is, except action.

There won't be any action, I warrant, if we wait around for Gen. Clark to get angry at the wrongdoers. He feels too sorry for them. He's more interested in reforming society than rescuing it.

Sure, I know, he's the old shoe type. He drives a small car instead of riding in the Justice Department's long limousine. He's as nice a young fellow as you'll ever meet. But what's more to the point is that President Johnson has appointed the wrong guy to the wrong post at the wrong time.

You listen to Gen. Clark, and then you think of California's Gov. Reagan who recently permitted a cop-killer to be executed in the gas chamber. You think of Florida's Gov. Kirk, who went out and hired a private detective agency to spy on the crooks. The conclusion you'll draw, if you're like me, is that the crime solution is a matter of thought revolution.

The need is for a turnabout in thinking, so that we get men in national law enforcement who don't mind picking on the killers and the crooks.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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HUMAN EVENTS

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● The American people aren't really aware of it, but even the Soviet space programs are used to spread anti-American propaganda. Orbiting over North Viet Nam on April 23, Soviet cosmonaut Vladimir Komarov, who was killed in flight last week, made the following broadcast: "I warmly greet the heroic Vietnamese nation which is carrying on a selfless struggle for its freedom and independence against the piratical aggression of American imperialism."

● Insiders say the House Committee on Un-American Activities will soon call up Svetlana Stalin to hear what she has to say. Officials of the committee won't confirm or deny the story.

● Heavyweight champ Muhammad Ali, ne Cassius Clay, is basing his refusal to enter the Army on religious—i.e., Black Muslim—grounds. What is not widely known is that the son of Herbert Muhammad, Clay's Black Muslim manager, is currently in the army. What's more, he volunteered for service. "We have several people who have gone into the army," Hubert Muhammad admits quietly.

● An Ohio congressman's staff is compiling a brief report revealing that as a result of the U.S. boycott of Rhodesia, America is now importing its chromite from Soviet Russia.

● Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.), a dark horse candidate for the '68 GOP nomination, last week called for: (1) Viet Cong participation in the South Vietnamese government; (2) Red China's presence at negotiations involving the future of South Viet Nam; and (3) GOP leadership in East-West "bridge building." Regarding this last point, Percy said he hoped the Republican party would "lead, not lag, in this gradual movement toward detente."

● Fiery radical Stokely Carmichael received a rude reception when he told a predominantly Negro student body at Hampton Institute in Virginia that the college's ROTC program was "training you to be hired killers." A Negro ROTC student jumped to his feet and shouted angrily: "If my government told me to, I would shoot you down. I would shoot you down twice." The ROTC student, Roger Smith, who has had two brothers killed in Viet Nam, later said, "I just couldn't listen to anything unpatriotic like that."

● Michigan Gov. George Romney, who likes to claim he's all for state's rights, is actually opposed to permitting his state legislature even to consider a resolution calling for a national convention to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court's one man, one vote decision. This is the proposal, backed by Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.), which has already been passed in one form or another by 32 state legislatures.

● Accused of wasting taxpayers' funds by Rep. H. R. Gross, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara lashed back: "I think the real disgrace is for you to sit here in the Nation's Capital not two miles away from school children who lack textbooks because Congress won't appropriate the funds for them." True? No. District of Columbia School Superintendent Carl Hansen says that during the past eight fiscal years Congress actually appropriated more money for textbooks than the local board of education had asked.

● The West German government is upset over the fact that the United States has proposed not only to reduce our ground forces in Germany, but our tactical air power by approximately one half. Many Germans believe this projected move is more of Defense Secretary McNamara's unilateral nuclear disarmament policy.



● Administration strategists are frankly basing their hopes for 1968 on votes they have purchased with federal dollars. As the Washington Post reported recently: "When pessimists start reading political polls to men in the White House, they read back some figures which they expect will re-elect President Johnson next year. One million people over 65 have already had their hospital bills paid by the Medicare plan. One out of every six college students is receiving a federal grant or loan. One million men or women are getting job training under various federal programs. 'This stuff is starting to be felt all over the country,' said an Administration strategist. All we have to do is identify with it."

● House Republicans have become increasingly aware of the dangers of East-West trade. They have now appointed a "task force" on the problem headed by Rep. Del Latta (Ohio), a long-time believer in the idea that if you engage in trade with the enemy, the enemy must make substantial concessions in return.

● Foreign aid officials loudly claim that their current budgetary request is the lowest ever submitted to Congress. But, as Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.) notes, the contemplated reduction results largely from the transfer of an estimated \$232 million in military aid—including programs for Laos, Thailand and NATO—to the Defense Department budget. The total outlay requested, which amounts to more than \$3.1 billion for economic and military assistance, still exceeds by \$190,930,000 the amount actually appropriated by Congress last year.

● RFK aide William J. Vanden Heuvel has not denied reports that he sent solicitation letters in February to several of Bobby's wealthy friends urging them to support Dr. Martin Luther King. Vanden Heuvel reportedly said in his letter about King that "few men in our time . . . have gained greater respect throughout the world."

● Delegates to the Daughters of the American Revolution Congress meeting in Washington last week approved 15 conservative resolutions. Among the recommendations: that the U.S. blockade North Vietnamese ports, impose economic sanctions against nations supplying material to North Viet Nam, a recommendation that the U.S. call off East-West trade talks.

● The Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society Editors charged last week that LBJ was continuing "to hurt his image and credibility by consistently trying to make the news sound or seem better than it is." The blue ribbon panel said that the credibility gap arises, in part, from the fact that the White House has "an unjustified preoccupation with domestic political considerations."

● Influential White House advisers have urged President Johnson to confer with Dr. Martin Luther King, now being boosted as a "peace candidate," for the purpose of getting him to support LBJ and Humphrey in 1968.

The Dodd Censure

Some unresolved questions remain about the Senate Ethics Committee's recommendation that Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) be censured for his conduct in office. The committee, headed by the respected John Stennis (D.-Miss.), based its unanimous decision on the grounds that Dodd or his representatives collected \$450,273 from seven fund-raising events between 1961 and 1965 and that he did not restrict the spending of this money to political campaigns, using at least \$116,083 for personal purposes. (The committee did not recommend censure on the basis of Dodd's connection with German lobbyist Julius Klein, finding "insufficient" evidence for judging Dodd guilty in this matter.)



DODD

Dodd, who still insists his "conscience is clear" and says he will run again in 1970, contends that \$170,000 was raised for him in the form of testimonial gifts, not campaign contributions, which could be used at his discretion on a tax-free basis. While this was certainly not clear from the printed material announcing the dinners, the Ethics Committee does have some 400 sworn affidavits from contributors saying they donated the money to Dodd to be used in any way he saw fit. The Internal Revenue Service says it will look into the case.

As the Chicago *Tribune* noted last week, the affair raises some troubling points. "If Dodd's colleagues support the committee recommendation," said the *Tribune*, "they are in effect saying that their hands are clean. Yet it is common knowledge that many politicians probably do not restrict political funds to political uses." What, implied the *Tribune*, will be done in these cases? The *Tribune* also suggested that something should be done about the fact that four of Dodd's ex-employees purloined over 4,000 documents from Dodd's files.

Until there is some visible action on these matters, said the *Tribune*, the Dodd case will remain as "an example of lopsided discipline."

The committee members, while harsh on Dodd, also dealt strongly with four of Dodd's ex-employees: James P. Boyd Jr., Michael V. O'Hare, Marjorie Carpenter, and Terry Golden. According to the committee, they "collaborated in removing about 4,000 papers from Sen. Dodd's office from about May to December 1965 without Sen. Dodd's permission, copied the papers, and then returned them." These four, the committee related, then "gave the copies of Sen. Dodd's papers to Washington newspaper columnists [Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson], who used the papers as the basis for many published articles about Sen. Dodd in 1966 and 1967."

"While the committee recognizes the duty of every senator, or officer or employee of the Senate to report wrongdoing to responsible authorities, the committee believes that the unauthorized removal of papers from a senator's office by employees and former employees is reprehensible and constitutes a breach of the relationship of trust between a senator and his staff, is an invasion of what must be considered privileged communications between a senator and his correspondents, and is a threat to the orderly conduct of business of a public office." The committee then referred the matter to the Justice Department.

However the Senate judges Dodd, and there seems little doubt the censure motion will pass, even the New York *Times*, a long-time enemy of the Connecticut lawmaker because of his anti-Communist views, has realized there "are significant differences" between the Dodd and Powell cases despite attempts by many to draw a parallel. "Mr. Powell's misuse of public funds as a committee chairman, however," said the *Times* following the Stennis committee recommendation, "was a more clear-cut offense than Mr. Dodd's shuffling of campaign funds. Moreover, Mr. Powell has been virtually a fugitive from justice in New York because of the contempt-of-court orders outstanding against him. It is for this latter reason that although the House should recognize Mr. Powell as a duly elected member, we believe it should also direct him to stand aside until he purges himself of contempt."

As *Human Events* maintained from the beginning of the Dodd story, columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson appear to have gone after the Connecticut senator primarily because of his anti-Com-

munist views. This was strongly implied in the Pearson-Anderson column that ran in the Washington *Post* on April 27 charging the Ethics Committee with "straining at a gnat while swallowing the camel" because it was going to recommend censure for Dodd's financial irregularities rather than for his association with West German lobbyist Gen. Julius Klein.

The Klein matter was "the most important," said the columnists, because he "was bent on steering U.S. policy, not in the channel where the President

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

wanted, but where Klein wanted . . . the Dodd-Klein axis was able to keep American foreign policy on a course of retaining U.S. troops in Germany, worrying about Red army aggression and building up German armament long after this policy was up for official revision." Klein, the columnists insisted, was paid \$150,000 a year by the Germans "to keep suspicion stirred up between Russia and Germany, and his Senate minions, led by Tom Dodd, helped him do it."

Oregon Demo is Red

Oregon voters were shocked last week when it was disclosed that a Democratic precinct committeeman in the state's capital city of Portland was a member of the Communist party. Donald Hamerquist, a self-avowed CP member, was elected Democratic party committeeman from a middle-class residential precinct in May 1966, and has continued to serve in the post despite his Communist ties.



MORSE

Now that Hamerquist's connections are known, the Democrats are suffering complete embarrassment because there is no provision to remove him until the next precinct elections in May 1968. The man who may be most injured by the revelation is Sen. Wayne Morse, the leftist Democrat from Oregon who is up for re-election in 1968. Morse so far has said absolutely nothing concerning the service of a Communist in the Democratic party in his home state.

Morse is already in deep political trouble, partly because he has accepted left-wing support in his vitriolic campaign against U.S. participation in the war in Viet Nam. Not only has he praised Ho Chi Minh in his crusade against the war, but last year he unabashedly raised money for the "peace-minded" Californians for Liberal Representation, even though it was public knowledge that at least one of the CLR's directors was an identified Communist. Oregon politicians say Morse's refusal to speak out against Hamerquist is bound to reduce his popularity even further.

The story of Hamerquist's ties with both the Communist and Democratic parties came about in the following manner: On March 31, 1967, the House Committee on Un-American Activities released a report which named three Portland State College students as Communists supporting the anti-war demonstrations. When the Oregon *Journal* interviewed the FBI operative who had named the three students, the

agent revealed that Donald Hamerquist had inducted him into the Communist party. Hamerquist, who had been elected Democratic committeeman the previous spring, then openly admitted his Communist ties to the *Journal*.

When this startling news was published, Oregon Democratic officials flushed. State party chairman Ed Fadeley went to Hamerquist to plead with him to resign, but, according to Fadeley, "he said he would not resign because he didn't have to." As there is no provision in Oregon law to arbitrarily remove political officials from elected office, the state's Democrats are now stuck with Hamerquist in their service at least until next May.

Despite the flurry of activity and concern following the *Journal* articles, there is belief in some minds that the Democrats knew of Hamerquist's CP ties all along. An Oregon *Journal* reporter who has followed the developments told *Human Events*:

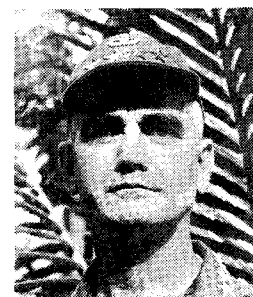
"I'm quite sure some of the Democrats knew about this background [of Hamerquist] but, what the heck, they felt, he was only a committeeman. This is just a personal feeling on my part, but I do think many of the Democrats felt—you know, ho hum, it was just a minor post."

Minor post or not, many Washington politicians are wondering why no newspaper outside of Oregon has given the matter any attention. They recall that when a group of New Jersey Young Republicans (none of whom held official party posts) had sung songs alleged to be anti-Semitic, there was a nationwide hue and cry over the incident. Now, these observers point out, there is virtual silence when a self-admitted Communist party member and organizer is disclosed to hold a position in the Democratic party, under the uninquisitive nose of Sen. Wayne Morse.

As Oregon Democratic Chairman Fadeley said, "this situation has unpleasant implications for both Oregon and the nation." Accurate though this observation may be in many ways, the one pleasant implication may be the defeat of Morse in 1968.

Notes on Westmoreland

Even before Gen. William Westmoreland addressed a joint session of Congress last week, there had been much talk by columnists and some Republicans that the conservative South Carolinian might become a GOP presidential candidate in 1968. Several party pros believe that Westmoreland, a friend of the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur and of former South Carolina Gov. James Byrnes, could win the White House, much in the same way Ike did in 1952. Westmoreland says he has "no political intentions, ambitions or aspirations," but some GOP pros say if he has a falling out with LBJ over Viet Nam military strategy, the general might be persuaded to run.



WESTMORELAND

Republicans keep shaking their heads about the recent actions of Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.). Having taken the lead in the Senate in promoting "East-West" friendship, Morton last week criticized Westmoreland's appearance before Congress. The Kentucky senator, up for re-election next year, wondered if the general's mission in this country was "to put a sack over dissent." "The appearance of a gallant field commander before a joint meeting of the Congress," Morton added, "while intended to pour oil on troubled waters, is instead pouring salt in a wound. This is overkill."

Morton may not have known it, but House Minority Leader Gerald Ford (Mich.) had readily assented on Sunday, April 23, to a request by House Speaker John McCormack that Westmoreland should be asked to appear before a joint session of Congress.

Morton's criticism, it is noted, was not unsimilar to the comments of the Senate's arch appeaser, J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.). Fulbright flatly claimed that Westmoreland's mission was intended to make critics "shut up." What these protestors are really saying, of course, is that a report from the commander in the field on what is going on in Viet Nam will hurt their anti-war case.

Even the Washington *Post* raised no din in re-

gard to Westmoreland's appearance. Indeed, the *Post* noted: "The government of a free society has no right to suppress, restrain or punish dissent; but it is under no obligation to refrain from reply or rebuttal."

"Reaction in some quarters to the tour of Gen. Westmoreland suggests that the opponents of the war may be seized of the notion that they have every right to mobilize their sympathizers [as, in fact, Fulbright has done from his Senate Foreign Relations Committee—Ed. note], but that those in favor of the war do not enjoy the same right to summon support to the forum."

Victory in Kingsport

Employees of the Kingsport Press of Kingsport, Tenn., have dealt a humiliating defeat to the barons of organized labor. By an overwhelming vote they have "decertified"; i.e., kicked out, three national unions and ended the longest, most bitter strike in the nation. (For background, see *Human Events*, Feb. 13, 1965, page 11.)

The AFL-CIO had made the four-year-long strike a national crusade. A boycott of Kingsport Press was conducted in every section of the country. Union pressure forced the Encyclopedia Britannica to end a long-standing contract with the Press. The New York City Board of Education was high-pressured, at least temporarily, into boycotting the firm.

AFL-CIO propagandists maintained that Kingsport Press was a "19th Century sweat shop" with employees underpaid and overworked. Working conditions were described as "pitiful" by Big Labor.

But the Kingsport employees were unconvinced. In 1964 workers in the machine shop ousted the Machinists Union as their bargaining agent and repudiated the strike. In 1965 composing room employees decertified the International Typographical Union. Last December a second Machinists' unit was ousted, as was a local of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistant's Union.

On April 5 the National Labor Relations Board supervised the final representational election, as rank-and-filers sought to oust the final three unions. The balloting was not even close.

Thus the longest strike in the nation comes to an embarrassing end for organized labor.

It was apparent long ago that the strike had failed. When the walkout began, the Press had 2,200 employees. Today, after four years of union harassment and a potentially crippling boycott, the firm has 2,500 workers and production has reached new highs.

Svetlana Defection Soft-Pedaled

The American government has finally permitted Stalin's daughter to enter the United States from Switzerland, where she had been temporarily residing since her defection from the Soviet Union. But veteran anti-Communists are still amazed at the lengths to which the Administration has gone to play down her defection to make it less "galling" to the Soviet Union.



SVETLANA

Desperately attempting to "soften" the blow to the Soviets, State Department officials admitted they had not initially permitted her in this country after she had immediately defected for fear this would have resulted in a greater propaganda coup for the United States and thus might have disrupted American-Soviet amity.

As the *New York Times* put it: Every effort was "made to prevent the affair from damaging United States-Soviet relations. For this reason it was decided to see whether the Swiss might give her temporary refuge."

Just prior to her coming to the United States, the State Department again reassured the Soviets that the United States had had no hand in her departure from the Soviet Union.

In addition, the department pointed out that private persons—former diplomat George Kennan and others—had arranged for her arrival in the United States, not the State Department.

State Department press officer Robert J. McCloskey remarked to newsmen: "I can assure you that while she was in Switzerland there were no contacts by officials of the American government with her." (See page 6 for the text of Svetlana Stalin's statement explaining why she left the Soviet Union.)

• The role of Kennan in the Svetlana affair has puzzled and concerned diplomatic officials. Known for his "soft-on-Soviet" policies, Kennan, along with Edward S. Greenbaum, a New York lawyer, went to Switzerland to bring Miss Stalin to the United States. Through them an 80,000-word autobiography she wrote in 1963 has been turned over to Harper & Row for publication next October.

Nevertheless, Kennan's connections with Svetlana are disturbing because he, along with the State Department, wants to smother the propaganda value of her defection from communism to freedom. In a recent statement Kennan said he hoped America would not react to her defection in accord with the "outworn reflexes and concepts of the 'Cold War.'" Kennan, as most people in Washington remember, was one of the key architects of the "building bridges" policy now being followed by the State Department.

• In the wake of Svetlana Stalin's nationally televised news conference from New York last week, anti-Communist veterans are pressing the government to reverse its policy on Stalin's daughter and actively distribute and broadcast her remarkable statements in Communist and non-Communist countries throughout the world. "Her words could do a lot of damage to the Communists," said one hard-liner in the State Department, "but I'm afraid nothing much will be done by Foggy Bottom—it doesn't want to rock this East-West harmony business."

The red-haired widow revealed that a love for freedom, including the fact that the Soviets wouldn't permit her to marry the man she loved, and a belief in religion prompted her to leave the land her father once ruled with an iron fist. Unlike the National Council of Churches here in America, Svetlana bluntly declared that communism and religion could not coexist: "No, I don't believe it can be joined together," she replied to Paul Wohol of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Svetlana also cast some doubt on how much the Soviet Union is mellowing. She said she disapproved of many things her father did, but she asserted there are "many other people who still are in our Central Committee and Politburo" who are responsible for the same thing "for which he [Stalin] alone was accused." Svetlana added she felt the responsibility for the brutality in Soviet Russia "was and is the party's, the regime and the ideology, as a whole."

Cuban Expo 67 Hoax

A Cuban refugee granted political asylum by the U.S. embassy in London last month has branded the Cuban exhibition at Expo 67 in Canada a hoax. Inocente Andres Collazo Toledo, who had served with the Cuban Chartering Enterprises in London, has said the Castro government will display "a number of Cuban products the Cuban people have never heard of. I met an official who had gone to England to purchase some Garrard record-player equipment with which to build several consoles and display them as part of Cuban export products."

"To give you an idea about the whole situation, let us take the case of the record players. The equipment will be purchased in England, even the wood will be imported and for this purpose the Cuban government is now holding talks with Congolese officials [Brazzaville]. Hardly a Cuban industry."

"Of course, coffee, meat, lobsters, fruits and vegetables—not available for consumption in Cuba—will be available."

Space Treaty Passes

While the Senate passed the "space treaty" banning orbital nuclear weapons by a whopping 88-to-0 mar-

gin, many senators voted for it only with a great feeling of unease.

Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) felt the treaty, which applies to the United States and the Soviet Union, had been rushed through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and complained "that in the future" he hoped such treaties would "have a little more study in depth."

Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) voted for the treaty, but he was obviously disturbed by certain aspects and said he thinks it "deserves more discussion in the Senate."

A major general in the Army Reserve, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) declared his "serious reservations" regarding the measure, claiming this "treaty appears to be another step in the artificial and unrealistic atmosphere of detente with communism. . . ."

Some senators were apparently disquieted by statements of Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. While some senators suggested they had been assured we had the technical capability to determine if an orbiting satellite were carrying a nuclear bomb without actually inspecting the satellite before it was launched, Wheeler testified that a "space power could undoubtedly orbit one or two weapons of mass destruction in space without our necessarily detecting it." Furthermore, Wheeler said the United States would have greater difficulty detecting a surprise attack from orbiting nuclear weapons than from land-based missiles.



WHEELER

The threat of surprise attack, said Wheeler, "can be answered only through intensified U.S. efforts to develop capabilities to detect and verify the orbiting of nuclear weapons or those threatening mass destruction."

A number of lawmakers also think the Soviets, through technological achievement, might be able to deceive our detection devices in the near future. For these reasons many senators were not as happy with the treaty as the 88-to-0 vote suggests.

Ramparts' Shake-Up

A savage intra-family battle has erupted for control of *Ramparts* magazine, the increasingly powerful organ of the New Left. The bitter struggle broke into the open last week as Edward M. Keating, *Ramparts'* millionaire founder and chief stockholder, was ousted as president and publisher.



KEATING

In less than a year *Ramparts* has become, literally, one of the world's most influential journals. Despite a limited circulation, its muck-raking "exposes" have won page one headlines from New York to Peking and triggered worldwide protests against U.S. policy in Viet Nam. (For a detailed report on *Ramparts*, see *Human Events*, April 8, 1967, page 8.)

The 42-year-old Keating founded *Ramparts* in 1962 and by his own admission poured \$860,000 into the magazine before "they threw me out like an old shoe." Behind last week's coup were the magazine's 28-year-old editor, Warren Hinckle 3rd, and managing editor Robert Scheer, 31. The ouster vote by *Ramparts'* Board of Directors was 13 to 1, with only Keating voting against it.

Dismissal of Keating does not signify any change in the publication's radical-left orientation, all concerned agree. The magazine remains committed to "intellectual muck-raking." At issue were what Keating felt was the "fiscal irresponsibility" of Hinckle and his associates. Hinckle, in turn, accused Keating of meddling in editorial decisions.

Despite his dismissal, Keating remains the publication's largest stockholder, with 42 per cent of the shares. Second largest stockholder is independently rich Prof. Frederick C. Mitchell of the University of Kansas.

Concern Over a Powell-Led Third Party Enlivens Debate on Campaign Subsidy Law

From the Allen-Scott Report

Second only to his fight to regain his House seat, Adam Clayton Powell is interested in what happens to the controversial campaign subsidy law now under fire in Congress.

While waiting in Bimini for the courts to rule on his petition to upset his expulsion, Powell has made frequent calls to members of the Democratic House Study Group to keep abreast of the behind-the-scenes developments in these two front-page controversies.

To the surprise of these liberal Democrats, who favor seating Powell, the unfrocked Harlem politician always links his own seating battle with the campaign subsidy fight.

"Adam never asks about his own situation without bringing up the battle over the campaign subsidy law," reports one legislator. "He constantly refers to it and wants to know if the provision for financing minor parties



Adam Clayton Powell is being urged to use his seating battle to create a Negro third party.

has been changed or repealed. From his inquiries you would think it was his baby."

Specifically, Powell usually seeks the latest information on the legislative efforts to perfect the so-called "third party" provision in the 1966 Election Fund Act, which provides for the financing of presidential campaigns by a tax check-off system.

Under this provision minor parties can qualify for post-financing of their campaigns if they receive five million votes in 1968. The candidate of such a party would be entitled to reimbursement at \$1 for each vote over that number. Several proposals now being pushed in Congress, which Powell favors, would lower this requirement to two million votes.

Main provision of the campaign subsidy law provides that the Democratic and Republican parties could receive up to \$30 million each to finance their 1968 presidential campaigns. The money would come from taxpayers willing to earmark \$1 on their income tax returns for the subsidy fund.

Powell, who after his ouster from the House called for "the birth of a black political power third force," has been in constant contact with Dr. Martin Luther King, discussing both of these controversies.

The militant King, who is trying to form a coalition of anti-Viet Nam war protesters, civil rights and student groups, wants Powell to join him in criss-crossing the country to promote the idea of a "Peace Party" for 1968.

King and others have suggested to Powell that he kick off the new party campaign when he delivers the keynote address to the first national conference of elected Negro public officials in Los Angeles on May 26.

By then Powell's lawyers hope to have a favorable court decision ordering the House to seat the Harlem Democrat. Even if the court should rule this way, it is very doubtful the House would agree to seat Powell.

This legal confrontation is being looked on by Democratic leaders as a major constitutional test of the separation of powers of the judicial and legislative branches of government.

Powell's court battle will shortly be supported by the opening of a "second front" by his backers in Congress. These legislators will push for the Harlem Democrat's seating following the certification of his re-election by New York's Gov. Rockefeller.

Powell, whose key advisers want him to become a political martyr for the "Black Power" movement, is being urged not to return to Congress unless seated without censure, with the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee returned to him.

One of these advisers, a New York attorney who also has tremendous influence on Dr. King, is encouraging Powell to use his fight for regaining his seat to create an issue to attract Negroes into a third party movement.

There are indications Powell is seriously considering this advice. After a recent strategy meeting in Bimini, Powell emerged to announce: "The future of black political power is the future of the United States. I don't know if this is the beginning of a third party, but we are definitely discussing that possibility."

As early as last December, a select group of U.S. Communist leaders met in New York in secret session to hear party chairman Gus Hall say the time

had come to work with anti-Viet Nam and other groups to form a peace party.

Hall made his pronouncement following a visit to the Soviet Union, where in late October he conferred for several days with Premier Brezhnev and Presidium members Mikhail Suslov and Boris Ponomarev.

Although there may be no links between these separate movements, they appear to be going in the same general direction—toward creation of a third party. Democratic House leaders, who are watching these developments, say the big question is whether the third party movements will merge, and if so, who will control and finance the new political force.

In that context the battle over the campaign subsidy will take place when it moves next month to the House from the Senate. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, will seek to discover why certain proponents of "perfecting" the present law want to make it easier for third parties to finance their presidential campaigns.

In 1966 Rep. Mills was the prime mover for a requirement that third parties obtain at least five million votes before they can dip into the proposed multi-million-dollar subsidy fund.

Originally, the Senate had set the figure at 1.5 million votes—a level that was an open invitation for the creation of minor parties.

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REP. JOHN ERLBORN (R.-Ill.) notes that "The 3.3 per cent inflation last year means that, if you had \$1,000 in a savings account at 4.5 per cent interest, your money really earned you a mere 1.2 per cent."

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Svetlana Vows: 'I Could Not Return to Moscow'

(Following is a statement written by Svetlana Stalin in English and issued on her arrival.)

It is important to me to explain something of the reasons why I decided not to return to Russia but to come to the United States instead.

I've read some wrong explanations in newspapers and magazines and I don't want to be misunderstood by anyone—especially my own children and my friends in Russia.

When I left Moscow last December in order to convey the ashes of my late husband, Mr. Brijesh Singh, to his home in India, I fully expected to return to Russia within one month's time. However, during my stay in India I decided that I could not return to Moscow.

It was my own decision, based on my own feelings and experiences, without anyone's advice or help or instruction. The strongest struggle was going on in my heart all that time because I would have to leave my children and not see them for quite a long time. I did everything to force myself to return home.

But all was in vain. I felt it impossible to go back and went instead to the United States Embassy in New Delhi, hoping for help and understanding. Now, after a happy and peaceful rest in Switzerland, a wonderful country with kind people to whom I shall always be grateful, I have come here in order to seek the self-expression that has been denied me for so long in Russia.

Why did I leave Russia and come here to ask for your hospitality? There are many reasons.

Since my childhood I have been taught communism, and I did believe in it, as we all did, my generation. But slowly, with age and experience, I began to think differently. In recent years we in Russia have begun to think, to discuss, to argue, and we are not so much automatically devoted any more to the ideas which we were taught.

Also, religion has done a lot to change me. I was brought up in a family where there was never any talk about God. But when I became a grown-up person I found that it was impossible to exist without God in one's heart. I came to that conclusion myself, without anybody's help or preaching. But that was a great change, because since that moment the main dogmas of communism lost their significance for me.

I do believe in the power of intellect in the world, no matter in which country you live. Instead of struggling and causing unnecessary bloodshed, people should work more together for the progress of humanity. This is the only thing which I can take seriously—the work of teachers, scientists, educated priests, doctors, lawyers, their work all over the world, notwithstanding states and borders, political parties and ideologies.

There are no capitalists and Communists for me, there are good people, honest or dishonest, and in whatever country they live people are the same everywhere, and their best expectations and moral ideals are the same.

My father was a Georgian, my mother was of a very much mixed nationality. Although I've lived all my life in Moscow, I believe that one's home can be anywhere that one can feel free.

My late husband, Brijesh Singh, belonged to an ancient family of India. He was a wonderful man and my children and I loved him very much. Un-



Photographers crowd around Svetlana Stalin prior to her first news conference.

fortunately, the Soviet authorities refused to recognize our marriage officially because he was a foreigner and I, because of my name, was considered as a kind of state property.

Even the question of whether I should be allowed to marry a citizen of India was decided by the party and the government. Moreover, we could not travel together to see his homeland, or anywhere else outside of Russia.

Mr. Singh had suffered for many years from a chronic illness. In Moscow his health began rapidly to decline and his heart became weak. Despite

my entreaties the government refused to allow me to take him to India, his homeland, before he died. After he died the government finally allowed me to take his ashes home. For me, it was too late.

My husband's death brought my long-repressed feelings about my life to the surface. I felt it impossible to be silent and tolerant any more.

I want you to know that three years ago I wrote a book about my life in Russia. I am happy to say that now it will be published in English and Russian, as well as other languages. The

Adenauer Rebuilt Germany from Ashes of Destruction

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

A great man is dead.

Bismarck united the Germans. Hitler brought them to the verge of total destruction. Konrad Adenauer, dead at 91, not only saved them but opened the door to a new future.

This he did by his insistence that, as a part of Western civilization, the Germans should unreservedly adhere to the West.

This was the easier for him because he had been an outspoken opponent of Nazism and a consistent pro-Westerner.

When, thanks to Stalin's imperialism, the Western powers realized that they must not only save but rehabilitate that part of Germany under their control, Adenauer saw his opportunity and seized it.

By this deep conviction and transparent honesty, he convinced the Western victors that it was to their advantage to have as much of Germany as possible as an ally, rather than as an

undependable neutral, in the struggle against Soviet imperialism.

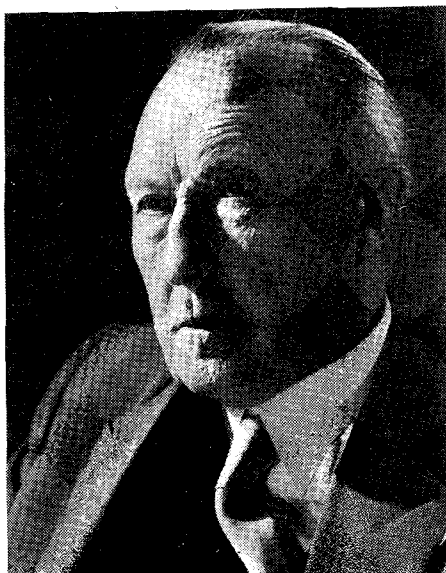
Equally difficult, at first, was his task of convincing the West Germans that only by association with the West could they escape the worst consequences of the lost war and anticipate eventual reunification with the amputated East.

To many war-and-defeat-shocked Germans, resentful at the same time of Hitler's monstrous mistakes and of the hard hand of the occupying powers, neutrality in the West-East struggle seemed attractive. From the time of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, successive German statesmen had profited by a "swing policy" (*Schaukelpolitik*) of turning first to the East and then to the West, and securing benefits from both. Thus by the Rapallo Treaty with Russia in 1922, disarmed Germany was able to train on Soviet soil those aviators and tank crews thanks to whom Hitler conquered Poland and France and all but knocked out the Soviet Union.

Yet by the Locarno Treaty with Britain and France in 1925, Foreign Minister Stresemann secured France's acceptance of the economic rehabilitation of Germany under the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan. It was not surprising that as late as 1948 some Germans were reacting to the suggestion that they join the anti-Communist front by answering *ohne uns* (without us).

Almost single-handedly Konrad Adenauer changed this. In the early '50s the German Federal Republic regained full sovereignty and, shortly after, was admitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Followed the German economic miracle with what seemed a prospect of reunification with the divided East in a not-too-distant future.

It was not Adenauer's fault that, in their eagerness to reach a detente with the Soviet Union, Kennedy's New Frontiersmen dropped all serious efforts



The pro-Western policies of the late Chancellor Konrad Adenauer helped stabilize Europe in the post-war period.

American edition will be published by Harper & Row and other publishing arrangements are being worked out by my lawyers, Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, and most particularly by my friend, Edward S. Greenbaum and his partner, Alan Schwartz, who accompanied me here from Switzerland.

I hope that my book will explain more fully than I can in these brief remarks what I felt and what I wanted to, but could not, say while in Russia.

The publication of my book will symbolize for me the main purpose of my journey here. The freedom of self-expression which I seek can, I hope, take the form of additional writing, study and reading on the literary subjects in which I am most interested.

While in Russia my interests were primarily literary and my friends were drawn largely from the ranks of writers, artists and teachers. I hope while here to be able to expand and broaden such friendships and, if possible, to make some small creative contribution to the world of arts and letters.

Despite the strong motives and deep desires which have led me to the United States, I cannot forget that my children are in Moscow. But I know they will understand me and what I have done. They also belong to the new generation in our country, which does not want to be fooled by old ideas. They also want to make their own conclusions about life.

Let God help them. I know they will not reject me and one day we shall meet. I will wait for that.

to compel Moscow by combined, military, political and economic pressure to accept Germany's reunification.

Fearing this, Adenauer pioneered a close understanding with de Gaulle's France, which seemed to offer an alternative path to German unity within a united West Europe under the nuclear protection of the United States.

Not even the disappointed Germans of today can overlook his achievement in snatching salvation from the jaws of military defeat.

I am happy to remember that as early as 1929, in describing for American readers those German politicians with the "brightest future," I included the name of Konrad Adenauer, then a relatively obscure mayor of the city of Cologne. For without a democratic Germany, NATO would be an empty shell and West Europe another happy hunting ground for Communist aggressors.

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An Apple for Teacher

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Until the martyrdom of Dr. Clark Kerr, most of us were unaware of the sweatshop conditions under which our schoolteachers labor; that their pay is a mere pittance, barely enough to keep body and soul alive and maintain a strong lobby in every legislature, state or national.

The worst of it is, as these lobbies point out, that the educator could earn far more in any other field. When Kerr lost his \$45,000 job as president of the University of California, which he had turned from a one-room school-house into a modern Athens, it was predicted he would be snapped up by industry or some Eastern college at twice that stipend.

Undoubtedly such offers were made, but Kerr's dedication is such that he preferred to return to UC as a lowly professor at a mere \$30,000. Money doesn't matter to the truly dedicated.

As a youngster I realized nothing of the sacrifices involved in teaching. Occasionally, like the other kids, I brought teacher an apple before a tough exam. But now that the wailing has made me realize that was probably the only lunch she could afford, I am sorry I didn't think to slip in an occasional sandwich, too.



Clark Kerr has returned to the University of California as a \$30,000-a-year professor.

Though we liked our teachers well enough, our own code never accepted them as full equals nor gave them the high status our parents did. We might give our somewhat oversized drawing teacher our seat in the subway or bus, but none of us would have dreamed of marrying her. That was taboo.

Nor did that prejudice fade entirely even when I grew older. At any rate, I met a cute trick one night at a party and had a swell time till I discovered she taught first grade. Naturally, that scared the heck out of me, although she didn't look in the least like any of the teachers I had had.

But in those days I lived dangerously and recklessly called her up for another date. And then another one—even though I had meanwhile gathered that her father and her uncle were university professors. That cinched it—I knew Nothing Serious could develop.

But I hated to think of this culturally disadvantaged chick doomed to an academic ghetto, her life burdened with professorial teas when she wasn't explaining to indignant parents why Johnny got only a B in math.

So I wrestled with my conscience—and lost. I felt it my duty to save her from a Fate Worse Than Death by

making the Supreme Sacrifice and offering her wedding bells.

Naturally, maidenly modesty forbade her snapping up the offer—and it also happened a couple of other noble souls were equally intent on rescuing her. But about the tenth time I pointed out the advantages of marrying a writer, she signed on the dotted line.

All these years, I must say, she has been properly grateful whenever I have reminded her she might have been a starving schoolteacher but for my intervention. On these occasions she usually bows three times and walks backward out of the room.

But the other day she just said "Oh, yeah?" and, without bowing even once, handed me a clipping from the local Los Angeles paper. It told of the death of a retired public school kindergarten teacher who had left an estate of over \$100,000—a \$30,000 home and the rest in government bonds accumulated in a lifetime of saving.

Obviously, I pointed out, there must be some explanation. Everybody knows who knows anything that no teacher can save a dime out of her meager salary. The lady probably did some moonlighting as a plumber after school hours. Or maybe she acted as a CIA agent.

"Oh, sure," said the Little Woman. "And how did it happen that when we were married, shortly after the 1929 crash, you couldn't afford to take me to the movies; while my father, a starving college professor who was neither a plumber nor a CIA agent, took his wife to Europe?"

The next time I see the local head of the American Federation of Teachers (who moans even louder than Kerr), I hope to get the real answers.

But meanwhile, things aren't so hot. Now it's the Little Woman who tells of her sacrifice—and I'm the one who bows low and walks backward.

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SOVIET ESPIONAGE—A former secret agent has told the House Committee on Un-American Activities that the Senate-approved Consular Treaty would give the Soviet Union increased opportunity to spy in the United States. John Huminik, a former double agent for the FBI, told the committee that "80 to 90 per cent of the Soviet officials in America are engaged in some form of intelligence operation."

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GUERRILLAS IN BOLIVIA—Exposing what the Communists have in mind, British correspondent Murray Sayles of the *Times* of London recently discovered a "strongly fortified base of Castro-type guerrillas" deep in the Bolivian jungle. "Our find," he wrote, "is the first positive proof that Communist guerrillas have in fact established themselves in strength in this politically explosive country."

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- (3) When did the current recession begin?
- (4) Where is "Creative Localism" being practiced?
- (5) Why is the Job Corps program in deep trouble?
- (6) How do the Russians lobby Congress?

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Leftist Agitators Busy in Louisville

By FULTON LEWIS III—From Exclusive newsletter

Leftist racial agitators have again selected Louisville, Ky., as the target for their activity and in just one week that city has already been the scene of several violent outbursts between whites and Negro demonstrators.

Demonstrations staged there in recent months picked up momentum the week of April 10 after the Louisville Board of Aldermen rejected a proposed open occupancy law by a 9-to-3 vote. Immediately, local and imported Negroes took to the streets urged on by some professional "civil rights" leaders and old-time leftists. From every indication the demonstrations were also coordinated and subsidized to some degree with federal funds routed through Sargent Shriver's "War on Poverty" program.

One of the principal leaders of the Louisville protest marches is Rev. Leo Lesser, who told newsmen following a riotous confrontation between Negro demonstrators and white onlookers "We will be back and we will keep returning until Louisville passes an effective 'open housing' ordinance."

Another is Rev. A.D. Williams King, a brother of Martin Luther King Jr. A third organizer of the protests is Hulbert James, president of the West End Community Council, who announced on April 14 that "more technicians from [Martin Luther King's] Southern Christian Leadership Conference" were being trucked to Louisville to help "crack local resistance to 'open housing.'"

James promised, "Demonstrations will continue. We do not plan to let up." He indicated that at least 15 more SCLC staff workers were scheduled to arrive in Louisville from Atlanta, adding to the six who have been there for weeks.

Defying a Jefferson County Circuit Court order that limits demonstrations to daylight hours, organizers of the protests led an "open housing" march on April 18 which sparked even further white resistance. Police used tear gas to disperse the crowd and to break up the demonstration. Fifty marchers, including Rev. A.D. Williams King, and 15 hecklers were arrested.

The organization which Hulbert James leads, the West End Community Council, was formally incorporated in the state of Kentucky, Oct. 4, 1963, with the council's articles of incorporation stating the group's purpose as: "To promote community living, bringing together the residents of the West End of Louisville to study mutual problems and challenges of this area to lessen, eliminate or to prevent forming neighborhood tensions, to eliminate prejudice and discrimination, and to defend human and civil rights secured by law; to promote cooperative effort and rational understanding among the residents."

The third page of the incorporation papers (to be found in Book 140, Page 162 in the records of the Jefferson County Court) lists the signatures and addresses of the incorporators of the council, among which is the name "Anne Braden, 4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville."

Anne Braden, of course, is the wife of Carl Braden, the head of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (the successor to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities).

Both Bradens were involved in a Louisville criminal case in 1954 when they were accused (and he convicted) of blowing up a house which they themselves

had purchased in a predominately white area of that city's suburbs. Actively involved in an "open housing" campaign then, the Bradens voluntarily turned over the title of their newly purchased house to a Negro named Andrew Wade and later, according to trial testimony, participated in a conspiracy to explode a bomb under one wing of the home in an attempt "to arouse Negroes to mass violence."

Carl Braden was indicted in connection with the bombing incident on charges of sedition against the state, and at his trial the prosecution produced a surprise witness—Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a Communist party member serving as an informant for the FBI—who testified under oath that both Carl and Anne Braden were known by her to be members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., that she had attended party cell meetings in the Braden home, and that she even paid her Communist party dues to Carl Braden.

'Poverty' Funds Involved

He was convicted of the sedition charge, sentenced to 15 years in prison and a \$5,000 fine—that conviction taking place on Dec. 13, 1954. After Carl Braden had served six months in prison, the Kentucky Court of Appeals ordered the charge dismissed, and Braden released, explaining that it was compelled to follow the United States Supreme Court decision which ruled state sedition laws unconstitutional.

Late in 1954 Mrs. Ahearn testified further concerning the Bradens. This time she was under oath during an appearance before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. On this occasion she stated that both Carl and Anne Braden had recruited her into the Communist party and that the two were members of the same Communist party cell to which she belonged.

In 1958 Carl Braden was called as a witness during hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and he invoked the protection of the 1st Amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning his Communist party membership and activities. For this he was later convicted of contempt of Congress (the conviction being upheld by the Supreme Court) and sentenced to one year in prison.

An article in the Sept. 11, 1965, issue of the Louisville Times reported that the West End Community Council (with Mrs. Carl Braden being one of its incorporators) had been awarded a \$28,000 grant in "War on Poverty" funds from the Louisville Community Action Commission to help fight poverty in a part of that city known as the DuValle area. Ninety per cent of these funds came from the federal government—from Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity—10 per cent came from the local Louisville government. It is this same council, of course, which has been active in the "open housing" demonstrations which have evoked violence in Louisville during the past few weeks.

There is apparently some confusion in Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity concerning Mrs. Braden's affiliation with the West End Community Council. Following my network broadcast exposing the Braden-Council relationship, the OEO issued form letters in response to inquiries which read:

"Sargent Shriver has asked me to thank you for your recent correspondence commenting on an August 30 broadcast by Fulton Lewis III.

"An investigation of the charges leveled by Mr. Lewis has revealed that at no time have Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden been employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, or received any funds or any other form of compensation from this agency.

"The Office of Economic Opportunity's position on the question of employment of Communists or persons with other subversive beliefs is clearly defined in Memorandum No. 23A from the director, Mr. Shriver. It reads: 'Membership in the Communist party or in any other organization whose objectives include the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence is inconsistent with employment



Open housing advocates are stopped by Louisville police before they attempted to march on a white neighborhood. Anti-poverty funds were reportedly used to fund the disruptive efforts.

in a community action program."

"The West End Community Council, to which Mr. Lewis referred, was privately incorporated in May 1964 by a group of people living in the Duval [sic] section of Louisville, Ky., who wanted to improve housing and other conditions in the area. Mrs. Braden was one of the eight original incorporators.

"... Mrs. Braden was appointed as the unpaid director of publicity for the council. In this role she sat on the 19-member executive committee that included ministers, a physician, businessmen, housewives and civic workers.

"Last October the council received a \$24,000 grant from the Louisville Community Action Committee as a delegate agency to operate an expanded service project seeking the same original goal of improving the community. Funds were also made available through the Episcopal Church and the United Church of Christ.

"In May of this year the council's board drew up a statement taking a very strong position against all forms of totalitarianism, including communism. All members signed with the exception of Mrs. Braden, who said she considered her tenure on the board 'very temporary.'

"Since then she has virtually withdrawn from all activities of the council in any capacity—including that of a member.

"The board is presently being reconstituted and we are informed that when this is completed, Mrs. Braden will no longer be a member."

The letter is signed, "Herbert J. Kramer, Director, Public Affairs."

Two weeks after Mr. Kramer's letter was mailed, however, Carl Braden himself appeared on my nightly newscast to

"answer" my charges concerning him and his wife.

In the course of his remarks he explained Anne Braden's past and present involvement with the council: "Mr. Lewis dealt with an organization Anne belongs to [notice present tense] in Louisville, the West End Community Council.

"The West End of Louisville where we live is a racially changing area. Several years ago it became obvious that unless there was organized effort to prevent it this entire area would soon become a ghetto—with all the seeds of strife that this implies. Anne and some other people in the West End decided they didn't want that to happen. They believed that instead it was possible to build in the West End a model interracial community where black and white could live and work together for the benefit of all. They formed the West End Community Council to try to help create this model community. The Council has attempted by persuasion to stem the tide of panic selling in the West

End and has helped people in the area to organize to deal together with community problems."

Braden's description of the council his wife helped establish was undoubtedly a true one, in light of the group's involvement in the recent demonstrations in Louisville which have sparked racial violence.

Conflicting Statements

One question still remains unanswered: Is Anne Braden currently active in the West End Community Council? OEO Chief Sargent Shriver, in a letter to Louisville Republican Congressman M. Gene Snyder on Feb. 24, 1967 stated: "At the time of the [Fulton Lewis III] broadcast, in August, Mrs. Braden was a member of the Board of the Council, by virtue of her position as chairman of its publicity committee. She is no longer either chairman or a board member."

In return correspondence to Director Shriver on March 14, however, Congressman Snyder replied: "The Louisville and Jefferson County Community Action Commission in their letter of March 8, 1967, to me in regard to the West End Community Council says 'Mrs. Braden is a member of this organization.'"

Just two weeks ago, during the height of the council's protest demonstrations, I spoke to an employee in the council's office in Louisville. Perhaps inadvertently, she answered, "Oh yes, Mrs. Braden is very active in our group!"

Two concluding suggestions: (1) Sargent Shriver should pay closer attention to the "wars" his poverty funds are fighting; and (2) Andrew Wade, wherever he is, should beware of "civil rights workers" bearing gifts!

U.S. Demonstrations Cost American Lives

By GEN. WILLIAM WESTMORELAND

(Following are excerpts from a speech made by Gen. William C. Westmoreland on April 24, 1967 at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.)

My last visit to this hotel was in January 1964, just before leaving for duty in Viet Nam. I came by to see my friend, Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Gen. MacArthur said to me: "I see you have a new job. I know you realize that this new assignment carries with it great opportunities, but it is also fraught with hazards."

I now wonder whether this occasion is one of those opportunities or one of those hazards.

U.S. Honor at Stake

The situation in Viet Nam has been accorded the most intensive news coverage in history. As a result, Americans should have, by this time, their own image of the war. But the question is: How accurate is this image? Do most Americans fully appreciate the character of the war and its complexity? I hope today I can contribute to better understanding.

What kind of a war is being fought? How is it being fought? How is the battle going? What lies ahead? These are questions I will address.

The Vietnamese, and we, their allies, are involved in a total undertaking—a single, all-pervading confrontation in which the fate of the people of Viet Nam, the independence of the free nations of Asia, and the future of emerging nations—as well as the reputation and the very honor of our country are at stake. At one and the same time, we must fight the enemy, protect the people, and help them build a nation in the pattern of their choice.

The real objective of the war is the people. If the enemy could take Saigon, or the heavily populated areas of the delta, or both, the war would be over—without negotiation or conference. He lost this chance two years ago, and I can promise you that his military tactics alone will not win him another opportunity.

Yet, despite staggering combat losses, he clings to the belief that he will defeat us. And through a clever combination of psychological and political warfare, both here and abroad, he has gained support which gives him hope that he can win politically that which he cannot accomplish militarily.

Many myths about the Viet Cong still persist, and I hope I can dispel some of these here and now.

The doctrine of conquest in South Viet Nam is from the book of Mao Tse-tung. It is the standard three-phase pattern—the combination of subversive political cells, guerrilla units and conventional military forces.

Between 1954 and 1963, political cells, trained and directed from North Viet Nam, were installed throughout South Viet Nam. At the same time, Hanoi directed that the Viet Cong begin recruiting and organizing guerrillas and training them in terror tactics.

By late 1964 the combination of enemy political-guerrilla warfare and governmental instability in the south resulted in a decision by Hanoi to enter the decisive, and final, phase. Viet Cong companies were formed into battalions, regiments and divisions, and North Viet-

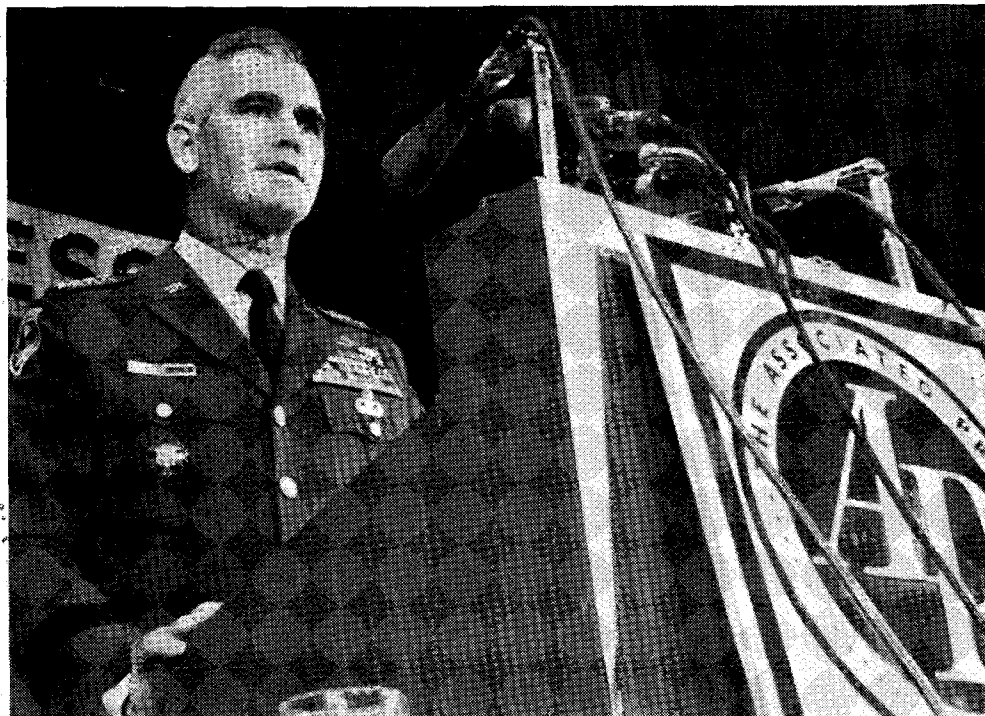
namese Army units began to infiltrate covertly to the south.

Never at any time during those 10 years of subversion, terror and attack did Hanoi relax its control over the war against the people of South Viet Nam. The goal of this aggression was then, and still is, the conquest of the south—reunification on Hanoi's terms.

What we have is not a civil war. It is a massive campaign of external aggression from North Viet Nam.

The political cells have created an enemy pseudogovernment which still pervades the many villages and hamlets. The guerrillas wage constantly, mostly at night, the cruelest kind of war—terrorism—civilians are shot, bombed and mutilated as examples to those who might resist or defect, or simply because they are leaders.

A typical example of Viet Cong terror took place shortly before I left Viet Nam. During the early morning hours of April 16, the Viet Cong attacked a hamlet 20 miles north of Saigon. Among the victims were five Revolutionary Development team members. Three of them were women. Their hands were tied behind their backs and they were all shot through the head.



Gen. William C. Westmoreland speaks before the Associated Press luncheon in New York. In his speech, portions of which are reprinted here, the four-star Viet Nam commander warned that anti-war protests were encouraging Hanoi's aggression.

During the last nine years, 53,000 Vietnamese—a large share of them teachers, policemen and elected or natural leaders—have been killed or kidnapped. Translated to the United States, that would be more than 600,000 people, with emphasis on mayors, councilmen, policemen, teachers, government officials and even journalists who would not submit to blackmail.

VC Infiltration Costly

At the other end of the war spectrum, we have fought in the south during the past year major elements of eight North Vietnamese divisions. We have captured thousands of weapons and large stores of ammunition and equipment which have been transported from North Viet Nam.

In summary: The Viet Cong is not a legitimate nationalist movement. It is a movement organized, controlled and supported by the Communist government of North Viet Nam. What support it gets from the people in South Viet Nam is largely the result of terror,

intimidation and murder of those individuals who oppose it. . . .

Working closely with the Vietnamese forces, we have moved into many of the populated and productive areas which formerly provided supplies and recruits to the enemy.

We have turned the enemy's ambushes against him and we have learned how to draw him into an ambush. We have sent our deep patrols to find him. He has been punished by B-52 strikes and unparalleled close support from our tactical air, artillery and naval gunfire. On land and sea we have made his infiltration costly.

End Not in Sight

Although the military picture is favorable, I emphasize the fact that we have no evidence to indicate that the enemy is slowing his invasion from the north, or that he is breaking up his major units and scattering them about, or that he is giving up his plans to try to inflict major defeat upon us. He is taking great casualties and he does have logistics problems, but his leadership is good and his men are tough and tenacious. He needs a victory for political, psychologi-

One of the regrettable facts of war—any war—are the casualties that are not confined to the military forces involved. There are civilian casualties in Viet Nam and these are of constant concern to me, my commanders and men. But civilian casualties do not result from indiscriminate use of our firepower. They are caused by mechanical failure or human error. This is in sharp contrast to the Viet Cong policy of calculated attacks on civilians.

Never in this history of warfare have so many precautions been taken by men in combat. We cover an enemy-held area with leaflets and loudspeaker broadcasts warning of impending attack. We do not permit an air strike or artillery fire on a moving column of enemy until Vietnamese officials give approval. Every possible precaution is taken to avoid casualties among civilians. Never has a nation employed its military power with such restraint. . . .

US' Fighting Morale

I am constantly impressed by the concern for the lives of others shown by the men of my command. As I travel among them, I see their courage against the enemy and their compassion toward their friends, and I am inspired by their example.

I would like to tell you more about the men of my command. Today your soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines and coast guardsmen:

- Are better educated than before.
- Are better informed.
- Have traditional American ingenuity and initiative.
- Are better physical specimens.
- Have high morale.
- And understand what the war is all about.

They know that they are helping to stop the spread of communism in Southeast Asia and to give the people of South Viet Nam a freedom of choice. They have been given a job, and they are doing it well, and with pride . . . but they are dismayed, and so am I, by recent unpatriotic acts here at home. . . .

I am mindful that the military war in South Viet Nam is, from the enemy's point of view, only part of a protracted and carefully coordinated attack, waged in the international arena. Regrettably, I see signs of enemy success in that world arena which he cannot match on the battlefield. He does not understand that American democracy is founded on debate, and he sees every protest as evidence of crumbling morale and diminishing resolve.

Thus, discouraged by repeated military defeats but encouraged by what he believes to be popular opposition to our effort in Viet Nam, he is determined to continue his aggression from the north. This, inevitably, will cost lives—American, Vietnamese and those of our other allies.

I foresee, in the months ahead, some of the bitterest fighting of the war. But I have confidence in our battlefield capability. And I am confident of the support we and our allies will continue to receive from our President and from the Congress.

The magnificent men and women I command in Viet Nam have earned the unified support of the American people.

The Case of the Missing Wage-Price Controls

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Most Americans, when they cast a vote on Election Day, have a feeling of impotence and frustration. What good does this single gesture mean in determining the nation's policies? The answer, of course, lies in the number of times that vote is multiplied by other Americans. That's how republican government works.

A good example of this is "The Case of the Missing Wage-Price Controls." Prior to the election the Administration had prepared carefully detailed plans for imposing these restrictions on the economy. They were to be part of the President's message to Congress, and appropriate executive orders had already been issued to give the Office of Emergency Planning and the Justice Department authority to take preliminary steps.

There were a few half-hearted denials of this, and some startling admissions from Administration wheels in and out of Congress. But after Election Day these plans were quickly bound round with a woolen string and stuffed into a dark corner of the Administration's cupboard.

The reason for this was simple. The Administration read the election returns and shuddered. In a number of congressional contests the wage-price issue had loomed large. In marginal districts Democrats had been defeated as a result of the voter resistance to controls. In other districts, where Republicans usually polled a small fraction of the

vote, they piled up percentages running in the 40-42 range.

There was another factor in the Administration's decision to drop wage-price control plans. The argument had been prepared, justifying these hobbles on the economy as "war measures" and to halt inflation. But events cut the ground out from under these rationalizations. Even before November 1966 the Council of Economic Advisers and the President's fiscal officials had begun to cast about for a means to prevent a drift into deflation. The impact on the stock market of wage-price legislation would have been catastrophic—and the Administration would have been the first to suffer, at least in political terms.

The war measure argument was as easy to demolish. The Administration's own budget figures made that obvious. Between 1960 (actual) and 1968 (White House estimates), the federal cash budget showed an increase of 82 per cent—or almost a doubling in expenditures by the government. But by far the larger share of that monstrously inflated 1968 budget was allocated to nondefense spending, with an actual percentage decline in defense spending.

The figures are interesting and frightening. The 1960 cash budget was \$94.3 billion. By 1968 it will be \$172.4 billion. In 1960 defense spending took \$45.7 billion, or 48.5 per cent of the total. For 1968 the Administration says it will spend \$76.8 billion on defense, or 44.5 per cent of the total. In short,

defense spending will have increased 68 per cent, and nondefense spending will have jumped 97 per cent.

Obviously, the White House could not explain away the wage-price control program as a means of cooling down an economy that was already turning chilly. Nor could it claim that the pressures of military spending required a downhold on the civilian economy.

Wage-price controls, therefore, were placed in a limbo of misbegotten plans. Administration spokesmen then loudly proclaimed that those who had exposed

the program had been wrong from the start—or worse than wrong. Defeated candidates began crying "foul." But the fact still remains that the plans were made. From the bureaucratic viewpoint all systems were A-OK for a blast-off. The voters and the economy changed it all.

This does not mean that the Administration has given up all hope. Wage-price controls would put tremendous power in the President's hands and the Administration is not ready to relinquish such an eventuality lightly. For the time being, however, the will of the people has prevailed. It will take a dramatic decline of America's military fortunes in Viet Nam to offer another set of excuses for placing the economy in the Administration's straitjacket.

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What Is a Conservative?

by FRED G. CLARK and RICHARD S. RIMANOCZY

The political labels placed on groups of people are never completely accurate because no two people are in complete agreement on everything.

However, the intellectual community and the predominantly liberal press, television and radio communications consistently paint an almost libelous caricature of the people called conservatives which, incidentally, from the election results, includes at least 40 per cent of the American voters.

We believe that people should be judged not by labels, but by the things they want to do. We would, therefore, like the readers to look at what most conservatives want to do and then decide whether they are good or bad for the country.

Conservatives believe that the Constitution is a flexible instrument, but they also believe that changes should take place through legal amendments, not by arbitrary administrative or judicial decisions.

Conservatives believe that the concentration of political and fiscal power creates inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful and arrogant government.

Conservatives believe that relief programs should be judged and administered by local boards who know, who can see and talk to, the people getting the relief. They also believe that the people receiving relief should be in genuine need of it.

Conservatives believe that the policy of collecting local tax money to be gathered together in Washington and then returned, in part, to the localities in the form of federal aid is an amoral and wasteful method of buying people's votes with their own money.

Conservatives are against all forms of unregulated monopoly; against the existence of any single source of an essential commodity or service when that source has the power to force its will upon others.

Conservatives are against the covert levying of taxes through inflationary additions to the money supply which

reduce the value of everybody's dollars, regardless of ability to pay.

Conservatives believe in equal rights for every person or group, but not in preferential rights based on emotionally conceived "social justice."

Conservatives believe in the use of taxation for revenue purposes, not for the "leveling down" of the exceptional rewards to exceptional people who make exceptional contributions to the economy.

Conservatives believe that every enterprise should stand or fall on the willingness of the free customer to buy or not to buy what it has for sale.

Conservatives are against the tax policy of taking so much of the people's earnings that government tends to become the chief dispenser of charity.

Conservatives do not believe that international cooperation can be bought with gifts to nations which, being older and more sophisticated, consider that there must be a hidden selfish motive in every "something-for-nothing" hand-out.

Conservatives believe history proves that, in a basically hostile world, no nation, however strong, can safely abandon the principles of patriotism, nationalism, protection of its currency, or the primacy of the welfare of its own citizens.

Conservatives also believe that because profitable production in the private sector is the sole support of the welfare sector, every thoughtful liberal should give it his support regardless of his personal attitude toward business.

We repeat: people should be judged by the things they want to do.

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REP. GLENN CUNNINGHAM (R.-Neb.) says that a man making \$20,000 a year, who files a joint income tax return, will pay \$4,300—enough to run the government for about one second. Based on average taxes paid on an average income, Cunningham figures it takes the taxes of about 86,000 people to run the government for one day.

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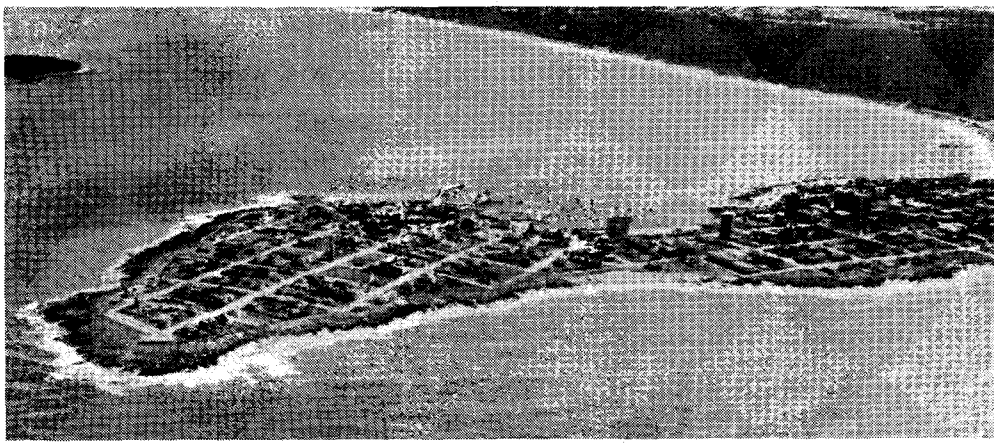
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Punta del Este, where the recent Latin conference was held.

Punta del Este Declaration

'Instant Utopia' for Latin America

By HENRY HAZLITT

"If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces."

I found myself inescapably thinking of Shakespeare's words when I read the long list of pious good intentions announced in the lengthy "action program" signed by 18 "Presidents of America" at Punta del Este.

In a rhetoric remarkably like that to which we have become accustomed in Lyndon Johnson's endless stream of speeches and messages, the Latin American chiefs of state promised their peoples instant Utopia:

"We will modernize the living conditions of our rural populations, raise agricultural productivity in general and increase food production for the benefit of both Latin America and the rest of the world. . . .

"We will vigorously promote education for development. . . .

"We will harness science and technology for the service of our peoples. . . .

"We will expand programs for improving the health of the American peoples. . . ." Etc., etc.

So much for goals. But what of the methods of realizing them?

The method on which most emphasis is placed is the creation of a Latin American Common Market, similar to the European Common Market.

Now, a common market is a customs union in which the members agree to lower tariff barriers among themselves. So far, so good. But the members may also agree to establish common and often higher tariff barriers against other nations. Then the union is protectionist and discriminatory against nonmembers.

From the standpoint of the Latin American countries themselves, this would be dubious policy. The greatest trade benefits can be achieved by an all-around lowering of trade barriers, not by a discriminatory lowering.

Strangely enough, it is our own officials who have taken the leadership in urging the Latin American countries to form a common market against us, just as our own officials several years ago took the leadership in urging Europe to form a common market against us.

This may be masochistic on our part, but it is not necessarily helpful to the Latin American countries. Either Argentina or Uruguay, for instance, would have far more to gain from a reciprocal lowering of trade barriers with the United States than from a lowering of trade barriers with each other. And a common market including the United States and the Latin American countries would probably be no more difficult to bring about than a common market of the Latin American countries alone.

Another "achievement" at Punta del Este was the U.S. promise of "temporary preferential treatment" for Latin American countries "of insufficient market." This would be a backward step, and a serious one, both politically and economically.

For decades the United States has been one of the leading advocates of the "most-favored nation" principle in international trade. This principle offers to every other nation equal treatment with that granted to the most favored. It means equality of trading opportunity. It is the principle of nondiscrimination.

Not only does it make for a lowering rather than a raising of trade barriers; it makes for peace and mutual good will. Preferential treatment to one country or group of countries means discrimination against others. It breeds resentment and bickering concerning who gets the preference and who is denied it.

These contemplated trade discriminations are only part of what is wrong with the Punta del Este declaration.

President Johnson wants to declare the next 10 years "the decade of urgency," but a slapdash haste to bring Utopia may set the world back indefinitely.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles Times)

Post Office Debate

Does O'Brien Go Far Enough?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Throughout the years there have been howls of unrestrained laughter whenever anybody dared speculate on the possibility of turning the Post Office Department over to private enterprise.

Some of that laughter must be choking in a few prominent throats these days. No less a person than the U.S. postmaster general has a suggestion which, if looked at candidly, admits that private operation, if not ownership, of the Post Office might solve a lot of its lamentable problems.

What Postmaster General Larry O'Brien suggests, specifically, is that the Post Office be removed from the Cabinet, be turned into a nonprofit government corporation, be operated by professionals and staffed on a business-like rather than political basis.

He further said that "steps should be taken to assure that the postal service reflects fully the genius of American management and industrial skills."

No one could expect a man in O'Brien's position to come out flatly for turning the Post Office Department over to private industry altogether, but even the most hard-headed Socialist would have to admit that O'Brien was certainly peeking over the brink when he made his revolutionary suggestions—suggestions which we can be sure most of the social theorists around him in the Great Planned Society will either ignore or twist out of shape.

But O'Brien, an old political crony of John Kennedy's, is a practical man. He has had a chance to see the Post Office from the inside and has, as obviously as he could publicly, had to admit that as a "public service" the Post Office is a losing proposition.

Its technology is slow. Its management is hopelessly entangled in politics and red tape. Its productivity is beyond reasonable control or demand.

Just why the idea of private management or ownership of such facilities should be so appalling has always escaped me. After all, if you want to get

a package delivered in this country, the chances are just as likely that you will turn to a private firm as to the government postal service.

Certainly, if a delivery involves security of the contents and promptness and accuracy, you might turn to private agencies, such as the phone company or a telegraph company, for even a simple message.

There already are private firms doing admirable service in what amounts to delivering the mail. And they are making money out of it. Everyone, in short, benefits from a private, profitable system.

So far as I know, no private corporation has seriously requested to get in on the regular mail service, for which the government enjoys a legal monopoly of the sort it would deny to any other group in the land. But if someone did want to go into the postal business, they might be able to accomplish—without any tax cost—exactly what O'Brien's halfway measure seeks to accomplish.

The postmaster general clearly recognizes, in the accomplishment of such a purely businesslike objective as the postal service, that there is no substitute for the sort of initiative and creativity that is the hallmark of private enterprise.

Welcome, Mr. O'Brien.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles Times)

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INTEREST GAP—"Our hope for our grandchildren is that they can afford to be as ignorant of the geography of Southeast Asia as we once were."

—From the San Diego Union



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Why Is 'War on Poverty' Attacking Zuni Indians?

The following open letter to Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen was written by C. Wilson Harder, president of the National Federation of Independent Business. Mr. Harder hopes Congress will force the Office of Economic Opportunity to reverse a \$208,741 grant that wastes taxpayers' money and, in reality, will hurt the Zuni Indians by making them set up a cooperative store.

The Honorable Everett M. Dirksen
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Dirksen:

Do you not agree that bygones should be bygones?

In that case, is it not a little late to try to avenge the Custer Massacre? It seems the "War on Poverty" people are determined to take such vengeance, and even of more interest, they are taking retribution against the Zuni Indians, a tribe which history does not record as ever being around the Little Big Horn that fateful day of June 25, 1876.

Senator, do you not agree that the oppression of the Indian in the 19th Century was sufficient and should not be resumed in this last third of the 20th Century?

Yet, from all evidence at hand, the "War on Poverty," which has previously declared war on privately owned, taxpaying business, is now waging war on the 5,300 Zuni Indians, not with horse soldiers, but with half-baked economic schemes.

As we informed you some time ago, the Office of Economic Opportunity has allocated \$208,741 to teach some 40 Zuni Indians how to make jewelry, a skill they have excelled in for many generations.

Now comes an even greater mystery. Out of this allocation of tax money there is provided \$60,000 for market development. A Mr. Stanley Selengut,

billed as a consultant for OEO, presumably in marketing, has arrived at the solution to the problem of marketing.

The plan is to set up a cooperative retail store on the Zuni reservation to sell the products of these Indian craftsmen. His analysis is most interesting. He estimates the first year the retail store should do \$30,000 in volume, \$40,000 worth the second year and \$50,000 per year in the third and succeeding years. To handle this amount of business, provision is made for six sales clerks and six shipping clerks, which figures out to about one employee for approximately \$400 each of monthly volume. This does seem high.

But this marketing strategy as developed by the OEO experts does not stop there. It is recognized that the cooperative retail outlet may not sell all the Zuni can produce, therefore it is envisioned that this surplus production will be sold at wholesale on an estimated volume of \$50,000 the first year, working up to \$100,000 in the third and successive years.

This means, then, that the present plan envisions an eventual business for

the Zuni of \$150,000 per year.

Now at this point comes the feeling that the Office of Economic Opportunity might be slightly misnamed. Could it not better be called the "Office of Economic Outrage"?

Just one store in Gallup, N.M., which is ready to supply documentary proof, in 1966 paid over \$200,000 to the Zuni jewelry makers, cash, not counting payments made to the Zuni in silver and other raw materials.

In addition, there are nine other stores in Gallup selling Zuni jewelry, plus three Zuni and two in Albuquerque. It is estimated that between all of them, they pay out over \$2 million for this handcrafted jewelry, which figures out close to \$400 each, for every brave, squaw and papoose in the tribe of 5,300.

Yet the OEO expert, Mr. Selengut, in his written report, somehow feels that the Zuni will be much better off in three years' time selling \$150,000 worth yearly than they are with their present receipts of over \$2 million. Surely there is some understanding in OEO of basic,

primary arithmetic.

Therefore, it can only be assumed that the "War on Poverty" has declared war on the Zuni.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in the minutes of a meeting held in the Zuni Tribal Council Hall, Zuni, N.M., on January 3, there is shown four Indians present, surrounded by eight functionaries, including a project governor, a Community Action program director, an assistant director, coordinator, two instructors and two bookkeepers. Even Custer was not outnumbered much more than this.

Perhaps it is well to suggest now is the proper time to make a switch on history. As the cinema and TV have long portrayed, at the last moment the U.S. Cavalry gallops up over the horizon to save the Palefaces from the Indians. Perhaps it is now time to order out the cavalry to save the Indians outnumbered by bureaucrats.

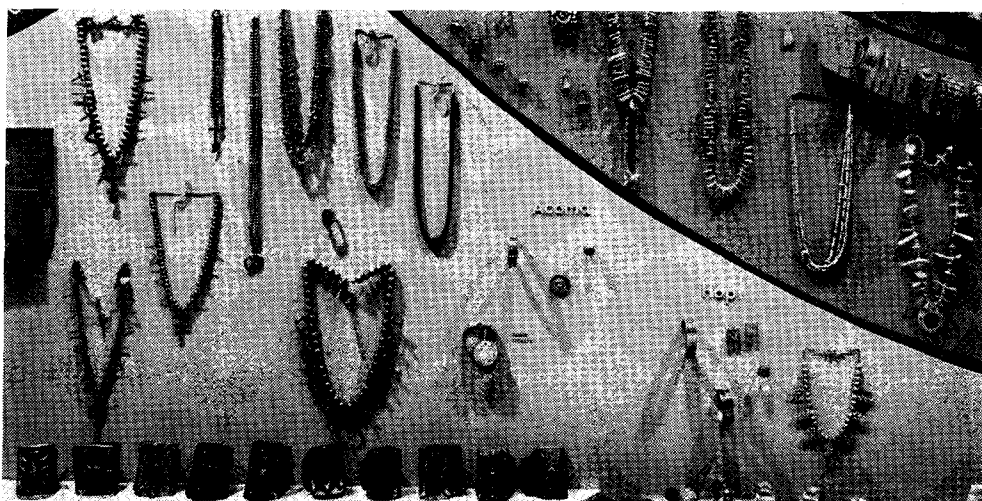
Incidentally, part of this OEO program is designed to teach the Indians how to substitute handwork for modern machine methods, even though a great deal of the premium people are willing to pay for this work is based on the fact that such jewelry is genuinely handcrafted. No doubt in time, if OEO succeeds in converting the Zuni to machine work, there will be an ample supply of Zuni jewelry, all stamped "Made in Japan."

We think you will agree that over the generations the Indian has been downtrodden enough without now being subjected to a plan to reduce a \$2-million business down to a possible \$150,000.

We hope you can rescue the Indian from this Paleface bureaucratic ambush.

Sincerely yours,

C. Wilson Harder
President



Above is a representative collection of handcrafted Indian jewelry. Poverty czar Sargent Shriver wants to spend taxpayers' money to market the items, but the Indians have been very successfully doing just that for generations.

Fowler's Risky Statements

How to Cause a Run on the Dollar

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

They certainly didn't intend it that way. But if Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler and some leading bankers had actually planned to encourage a run on the dollar and a world monetary crisis, they could not have taken more effective steps than they did in their recent statements.

It is playing with fire for leaders of the American financial community to state or to imply that the U.S. Treasury may not for long honor its commitment to redeem dollars from foreign central banks at the rate of one ounce of gold for \$35.

On March 17 Mr. Fowler asked for "cooperation" of foreign nations in order to avoid "unilateral action" and "withdrawing from commitments involving the security and development of others." Then on April 1 a Chase National Bank statement said it might be necessary to "simply terminate the privilege now given to foreign central banks of buying gold freely." Finally, Rudolph Peterson, president of Bank of America—who is listened to with respect in banking circles—pointed out that "We may have to reconsider our gold buying policy," and if the "gold drain becomes intolerable we will have no choice but to react with massive retaliatory measures."

In layman's language these statements mean that if too many dollars are presented by foreign nations for redemption

in gold, the United States would be forced to discontinue gold payments and place severe restrictions on the outflow of dollars. The clear implication is that all nations are in the same leaky boat. It is up to others, as well as to the U.S., to prevent the boat from sinking.

Such statements actually accentuate the distrust which many dollar-holders now feel. Government officials and individuals get the idea that they had better cash in their dollars quickly or they will wake up some day to find that dollars have lost a substantial portion of their purchasing power.

The United States is acting as banker for the world. The dollar serves as acceptable currency in international trade. Foreign governments and their nationals who continue to hold and invest dollars consider the American dollar to be a store-of-value. They depend upon the dollar's stability. Therefore, it is plain the U.S. must act like any reputable banker. Its reputation for integrity must be beyond reproach.

Suppose a bank president announced that his bank might not for long be able to pay out depositors 100 cents on the dollar? Obviously depositors would rush to get their money as soon as possible. They would figure that those who go to the withdrawal window

a little later may not be fortunate enough to be paid in full.

The intention of Treasury officials and bankers to prevent devaluation of the dollar and hold it at \$35 an ounce of gold is certainly laudable. No one wants a new round of inflation—least of all, world inflation. But if the dollar is in trouble, whose problem is it?

If the U.S. policies create deficits year after year, currently running between \$10 billion and \$15 billion annually, and thus undermine confidence in the dollar, who can cure that? If our monetary authorities permit the manufacture of too many dollars, and if our labor policies encourage monopoly unionism and high-priced American goods, who can cure that?

If the United States gets its own house in order there will be little need to admonish foreign nations to have confidence in the dollar. The U.S. economy is a powerful and productive one. The dollar can continue to be the standard of the world. But only if American monetary and fiscal policies act as a foundation for a strong dollar.

Perhaps these recent American statements are part of a propaganda barrage intended to achieve U.S. Treasury objectives at the next meeting of the International Monetary Fund. The U.S. has been trying to convince leading cen-

tral banks that they ought to create a new international currency which would supplement both gold and the dollar. This would temporarily take pressure off the dollar. This plan is being resisted by France and some other nations which want to stand by present arrangements, and are advising the U.S. to solve its own deficit problem.

The threats contained in recent statements may be intended to persuade other nations to go along with the U.S. plan. But to publicly state now that we may change our gold policy and thus make dollars worth less in international markets is akin to crying "Fire!" in a crowded auditorium. There may be a rush for the exits.

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Citing Scripture for Marx' Purpose

By ALICE WIDENER

While New York City policemen were barricading United Nations headquarters on Saturday morning, April 15, in anticipation of the mass "peace" demonstration, there took place inside the U.N. Church Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, a meeting of the Marxist "United States Committee for the Christian Peace Conference." The proceedings of this meeting were far more insidious politically and infinitely more dangerous to our country than the draft card burning, Viet Cong flag-toting activities recorded by television newsmen later in the day.

Headquarters of the so-called "Christian" Peace Conference are in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In 1949 "Give 'em Hell" President Harry Truman and Secretary of State Dean Rusk publicly warned Americans that the notorious Waldorf Peace Conference was Communist-controlled and held for Communist propaganda purposes.

But prior to the April 15, 1967, Christian Peace Conference, nobody in U.S. government circles warned the public about it, though a main speaker was Dr. Robert Cohen. He is chairman of the physics department at Boston University and also chairman of the American Institute for Marxist Studies, main educational and propaganda arm of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and directed by Herbert Aptheker.

Though the U.N. Plaza was noisy with police car sirens and two policemen were parading along the terrace outside the Church Center meeting room, the atmosphere inside, that Saturday morning, was scholarly and quiet. The conferees were mostly clergymen and faculty members from the wealthiest and most fashionable churches and universities. They hung on every word uttered by chairman Dr. Charles West, who expounded on Marxist "Christian" philosophy behind the Iron Curtain, and by Dr. Robert Cohen, who delivered a doctrinaire Marxist-Leninist address. He described himself as a "secular humanist and atheist."

Two foreign speakers scheduled to address the Christian Peace Conference did not attend—Metropolitan Nikodim of the Russian Orthodox Church, Soviet Union, and Carl Ordnung, CPC secretary in East Germany. An Episcopal clergyman said to a Methodist colleague, "Our Fascist State Department wouldn't let Ordnung into the country."

Two main themes of the conference were "The Emerging Christian-Marxist Dialogue" and "The Significance of the CPC in the Life of the Churches of Eastern Europe and the World." Dr. West said the fundamental question for Christians today is "how to participate in a revolutionary movement." Dr. Cohen said it is necessary to define democracy and to recognize that what

Marxists mean by democracy is "social control of all the means of production" and all the means of ownership and communication. He said Communists are striving toward democracy according to Marxist definition and it is necessary for Christians as well as Marxists to determine whether it is "morally correct to sacrifice, even terroristically, for the future democracy."

He used all the standard Marxist-Leninist dogma regarding justification for violence and terrorism in behalf of "true democracy." None of the clergymen or scholars present interposed a Christian objection or demurral. Dr. Cohen said that when Christians enter into dialogue with Marxists, the chief purpose is for the former to learn from the latter.

It appears that the main purpose of the United States Committee of the Christian Peace Conference is for American Christians to learn Marxism from Iron Curtain clergymen and "philosophers." Someone in Congress or our State Department ought to warn Americans against Marxist indoctrination via "Christian" theological tracts. On April 15, 1967, I learned how Christians cite the scripture for Karl Marx' purpose.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Beyond the Shadow Of a Doubt

From the Indianapolis Star

If there is anyone in the United States who needs convincing of the simple fact that leaders of world communism are out to destroy us he has only to read the words of the Communist party leader of the Soviet Union.

Leonid I. Brezhnev, Red leader of the USSR, the nation which so many would have us build bridges of surrender to, in a speech in East Berlin spelled out clearly the aim and desire to defeat the United States.

Brezhnev called for "unity of action" by Russia, Red China and other Communist states and said this "unity" should cover "planning and practical aid for the fighting Vietnamese people."

He said the United States would never succeed in winning in Viet Nam and promised North Vietnamese Communists "the active, many-sided and steadily increasing brotherly help of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc."

Does it need to be spelled out any more clearly than that? Are we still to fulfill the new Consular Treaty, which opens the way for increased espionage activity from a nation determined to destroy us?

Does anyone still believe the Soviet Union wants peace as the proposed treaty for peaceful exploration of outer space calls for?

Do the peaceniks and Vietniks who demonstrated recently believe we can pull out of Viet Nam with our skins? We cannot, for to surrender there in view of the statement of Breshnev would mean to the Communists and to the world we are craven cowards who are seeking only to preserve ourselves.

Breshnev has made an offer which is not far short of a declaration of war against the United States. By doing it he has demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt the nefarious purpose of world communism—world conquest—and in doing so admits the Soviet Union is our enemy, not our friend.

Russian Team Leaves U.S.

Visits Elsewhere by the KGB Have Preceded Missile Troubles

From the Allen-Scott Report

If the past is an indicator, the recently concluded visit of the two high-ranking Soviet secret police (KGB) officials spells trouble for the United States.

When Gen. Vasily V. Mozhshechkov, second ranking in the KGB, and Gen. Nikolais Vinogradov, the organization's security expert, showed up in Cuba and North Viet Nam, their appearance was the forerunner of new arms measures against the U.S.

First visit of the elite KGB team in the Western hemisphere was in December 1960, when President Eisenhower was preparing to turn over the reins to President-elect John Kennedy.

A National Security Agency report at the time warned that a KGB team headed by Mozhshechkov and including Gen. Vinogradov had arrived in Havana with the mission of setting up a security system for Soviet military technicians and arms to follow. The NSA document asserts the Mozhshechkov team spent more than three months in Cuba.

It reveals that the two Russians traveled via Prague, where they arranged the first consignment of arms for Castro. The rest is history. The weapons shipments that began early in 1961 led to the missile crisis in October 1962.

Generals Mozhshechkov and Vinogradov reappeared in Cuba in September 1963 with then-KGB Chief Aleksandr Shelepin. The trio were guests of Castro and "Che" Guevara. A Central Intelligence Agency report states they spent several weeks inspecting Soviet military camps before returning to Moscow.

The next important trip Generals Mozhshechkov and Vinogradov made was in

January 1965, when they showed up in Hanoi and stayed nearly a month.

On that visit the two KGB officials were credited with arranging the handling of shipments of SA-2 surface-to-air missiles, now being used against U.S. air attacks.

This operation also included establishing air routes over Communist China, as well as rail routes, for the delivery of arms.

U.S. authorities believe one purpose of the two secret police officials' trip here is in connection with the forthcoming inauguration of commercial air flights between New York and Moscow.

Under a recent agreement, there will be twice-a-week flights by Pan American Airways and Aeroflot.

A CIA study of Aeroflot operations states the government-owned airline is used for espionage activities. As reported in press dispatches in recent weeks, three Aeroflot officials in European countries were expelled for spying.

While in the United States, Generals Mozhshechkov and Vinogradov spent considerable time at Kennedy International Airport in New York and Dulles International in Washington checking routes leading to and from these airfields.

They also observed the big anti-Viet Nam peace demonstration that Dr. Martin Luther King addressed in New York. The KGB officials appeared to be particularly interested in the reaction of the crowd to harangues calling for halting the bombing of North Viet Nam.

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Embattled Republican Women to Hold Convention

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Richard Nixon has said that when women go in for politicking, they can be really deadly. It may not have been the most tactful thing in the world for Dick Nixon to bring up. But with the battle lines forming for the biennial convention of the National Federation of Republican Women, which will be held in Washington, D.C., on May 5 and 6, it now looks as though Nixon



Opposing candidates for the presidency of the National Federation of Republican Women are Phyllis Schlafly of Illinois (left) and Gladys O'Donnell of California.

had understated the case. The women seem to be getting ready for the floor fight of the ages, which is just the thing the Republican National Committee chairman, Ray Bliss, had hoped to avoid.

There are, as of the moment of writing, two contestants for the office of president of the federation. One is Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell of Long Beach, Calif., the choice of the women's nominating committee. The other is Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, the incumbent first vice president of the federation, who will be nominated from the floor.

Fair enough, one might say; in a democratic organization, there is no reason there shouldn't be a contest for president. But that isn't the way the

Republican women feel about it. The O'Donnell partisans think it bad faith to undercut the nominating committee. The group known as "Republican Women for Phyllis Schlafly," on the other hand, think it was a dirty trick for the nominating committee to pass over the claims of the first vice president to automatic promotion.

This columnist got involved in the scrap by remarking in a piece about Republican unity that it was a Republican Women's Federation "tradition" to elevate the first vice president to the presidency. I should have qualified this by saying it was the "new" tradition, for the Republican women have been moving their first vice president up only since the middle of the 1950s. A further qualification is that the first vice president must want the job of president and be in a position to take time off from family obligations to do it.

Mrs. Schlafly definitely wants the job, and says that "custom and courtesy" entitle her to it. But she is a "conservative," and the "moderates" want it to go to Mrs. O'Donnell.

As a mere male, I should say that the choice is the women's own business. But the politicking in the fight to control the women's organization has involved the males.

There is the use that has been made of a Barry Goldwater letter, for example. In pressing the case for Mrs. O'Donnell, the "moderates" have been sending out paragraphs excerpted from a Goldwater note to Mrs. Dorothy Elston, the outgoing federation president, commending Gladys O'Donnell as a "long-time worker in the conservative cause."

Turned On

Controlling the Banana Traffic

From the Richmond News Leader

Dr. James Goddard, head of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, has announced that federal investigators are looking into the use of banana skins to produce a mild hallucinogen.

According to *Newsweek*, the current craze of banana skin smoking among the hippies originated with the Berkeley *Barb*, which published a recipe early in March. The recipe calls for scraping the white part of the banana peel and then drying it in a 200-degree oven. Hippies say that the dried peel, when smoked in a pipe, induces a mild euphoria similar to that obtained from smoking marijuana. Scientists say that traces of serotonin and norepinephrine, drugs that affect the brain, are present in banana skins.

The craze has spread from Berkeley to Greenwich; at an Easter Sunday Be-in in New York City, a feature attraction was a two-foot-long wooden banana. Now it appears that the federal government has become alarmed by the fad.

Given Dr. Goddard's autocratic manner of dealing with such dangers as vitamins and health foods, it is not difficult to predict the outcome of his concern over banana smoking.

If it can be proved that banana skins can produce even a mild hallucinogen, it may be necessary to embargo all shipments to wholesalers and grocers. Federal edict could require that bananas be sold only by registered pharmacists. Each purchaser would be required to have a prescription from his physician or be willing to register his purchase by signing his name.

Families with children or teen-agers might be given banana ration books, which would warn that bananas should be kept in a locked medicine cabinet, beyond the reach of young children. In addition, each banana would have to carry a sticker certifying that "Caution: Banana smoking may be dangerous to your health."

If these precautions didn't work, the FDA then could rule that bananas could be sold only after being peeled and wrapped in cellophane. This would result in increasing the cost of bananas; it would not be long before they would become luxury items for the family larder. The need for money to buy bananas would be said to be responsible for an increase in muggings and robberies.

A flourishing black market would be created to meet the need, and large supplies of bananas would be hijacked and diverted to the underground. Dr. Goddard would have to set up a new division of drug inspectors to track down illicit banana deals.

Congress would be asked to approve a sweeping measure to control the banana trade, and the President would announce that another threat to life in the "Great Society" had been conquered by decisive federal action. And those who yearned for a dish of banana pudding or a slice of banana cream pie would have to get turned on some other way.

Well, Goldwater did say that. But Mrs. Schlafly's friends point out that this is only half of the story. In the uncropped version of his letter to Mrs. Elston, Goldwater went on to say that "Phyllis Schlafly, too, is a friend of long standing. . . . Anyone familiar with politics at all must be familiar with the fantastic work done by this fine lady." And Barry wound up his letter by saying that he looked forward to "working with and supporting whom-ever the members of the federation in their wisdom shall choose as their president."

Republican Chairman Bliss has been accused of manipulating the women's federation to produce a victory for Mrs. O'Donnell. As far as I can determine, Ray Bliss' sin consists of supporting those who voted to change the convention locale from California, where it was

originally scheduled, to Washington, D.C.

The pro-Schlafly women think this is a break for "New York liberals," who can easily get down to Washington on the shuttle plane. This may be true, but the energy exhibited by Mrs. Maureen Reagan Sills, who happens to be the daughter of California's Gov. Reagan, in touring the country for Mrs. Schlafly, would seem to indicate that the conservatives will get out their vote.

The feathers have been flying in this fight for control of the women's organization. A good fight is perfectly legitimate, and it won't matter provided everybody closes ranks in 1968 after the national presidential ticket has been chosen. The only thing is that the Republicans will need live, not dead, women by November 1968. So, if the ladies insist on maiming each other, let there be no murders, please.

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Leadership Gap

By REP. LOUIS WYMAN (R.-N.H.)

The rotten eggs and grapefruit thrown at Vice President Humphrey reflect the failure of our conduct of foreign affairs. Instead of respect and friendship, what we find in our world is contempt and jealousy. In Viet Nam at this hour we have the capability to end this war virtually overnight without the use of atomic weapons. But we go ahead and bomb freight cars and non-essential military targets. How can we expect the world to respect such continuing abysmal failures of leadership? If this keeps up, the American people can expect more rotten eggs and more contempt. And we will deserve it.

Mismanaged Mail

By REP. EDWARD J. GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

One other giant in communications, the telephone system, is run by a private enterprise touted to be one of the best managed in the land. The Post Office is not. In comparing the two, the privately owned telephone companies seem to be serving the consumer better. In the last 35 years mail rates have doubled while telephone rates have been cut to one-fifth. And the taxes paid by the telephone companies would pay for the Post Office deficit many times over.



Certainly, there's nothing like the profit incentive to promote good management. Good management is what the Post Office needs most of all. So, I would say that Postmaster General O'Brien's idea was a good one, but he didn't go far enough. What he really ought to do is turn over the Post Office Department to private enterprise and let it be run right.

Unfair Farm Prices

By SEN. JAMES PEARSON (R.-Kan.)

Farm prices have declined to their lowest level in several years, while everything that the farmer must buy continues to go up in price. There are several causes for this unfavorable and, indeed, unfair farm price situation. The major cause, however, is that ever since inflation began to get out of hand about a year ago the Administration has taken a whole series of actions to roll back or freeze farm prices. For example, the massive sales of government-owned stocks of wheat and feed grains; the cattle hide embargo; the manipulation of livestock purchases by the Defense Department; and even the curtailment of wheat exports. The Administration now says that it will increase farm income, but this is precisely the same Administration which has had a specific program to keep farm income down.

Why Negotiate?

By SEN. ERNEST HOLLINGS (D.-S.C.)

If I were Ho Chi Minh, without artillery, without an air force, and without a navy, but I saw that I was winning political victories every day—that the front line had moved to the churches and universities—that members of Congress were being constantly besieged on Capitol Hill with cries of "Peace, peace, peace," I too, would hesitate to



come to any table to negotiate. If I had heard the front line had moved to the civil rights movement, where Martin Luther King says we, the United States of America, are the greatest dispensers of violence, and Stokely Carmichael says, "Hell, no," I believe I would refuse to negotiate. If I had heard that the front line had moved to Fifth Avenue, ordinarily reserved for victory marches, and had observed a march of some 100,000 urging surrender, I would hold off from going to the negotiating table. If I were Ho Chi Minh and had heard the U.S.A. was being called an aggressor by its own people, and was being urged to be cautious about spilling blood, and all this talk about stopping the bombing and stopping the search-and-destroy missions, and all the talk about surrender I would also not want to negotiate.

'Sneak Attack'

By REP. JOE WAGGONER (D.-La.)

The Washington Post is "shocked" to learn that a majority of the states are planning a "sneak attack," a "back-door assault" on the Constitution by following its provisions. The specter of a majority of the states petitioning the Congress, as prescribed by the Constitution, has the Post frothing. Their trauma is, of course, understandable only in the context of their gloriously inconsistent philosophy. The idea of anyone following the precepts and provisions of the Constitution is Gorgonian to the Post. Why,

if such a thing caught on, there would be no end to it. The next thing you knew, people would be demanding their rights, too, and how could we build a wonderful and great federalist society of the states and people do not willingly submit to the federal government? Unless such ridiculousness as this is stopped at once, that old, worn-out document might even regain some of its importance, and then where would we be?

LBJ's PR Empire

By REP. BOB WILSON (R.-Calif.)

The Johnson Administration spends some \$425 million a year of the public's hard-earned tax dollars to sell its story to the same people who put up the money. For example, the scandal-racked poverty program has 46 staffers grinding out favorable publicity. Defense Secretary McNamara has 3,000 publicity personnel and a budget of over \$32 million. In Viet Nam alone McNamara stables a publicity staff of 500—roughly one for each American plane lost in combat there. The Department of Agriculture spends \$8.9 million a year on publicity; HEW, \$7.7 million; and the Atomic Energy Commission, \$6.1 million.



As one commercial news service reported: "Much of the expenditure is devoted to convincing Americans that

what their government does is for their welfare." The Johnson Administration is spending nearly \$75 million more for self-glorification each year than it costs to support the Congress of the United States and the Supreme Court combined. No wonder truth is a casualty and people wonder what is really going on.

This is the most expensive brainwashing campaign in the history of any government—anywhere. It attempts to make the incredible credible by taking the American people through the Administration's looking glass. This Administration is spending hard-earned tax dollars by the millions to make itself look respectable, responsible and reliable.

Soaring Gov't Costs

By REP. JAMES V. SMITH (R.-Okla.)

Do you know that interest on the national debt is more than five times the amount spent on education? Where does your tax money go anyway? The Tax Foundation says the average income tax of \$1,114 on a \$10,000 annual salary is split this way: \$623 for defense; \$117 for interest on the national debt; \$93 for health, labor and welfare; \$51 for veterans; \$44 for the space program; \$40 for international affairs and finance; \$34 for commerce and housing; \$29 for natural resources; \$26 for agriculture; \$23 for education; \$23 for general government costs, and \$12 for miscellaneous federal expenses. It is noteworthy that welfare has crept up to third place in the wealthiest nation on earth.

What Has Poland Done for Us Lately?

By REP. PAUL FINDLEY (R.-ILL.)

doubt on Poland's ability to pay the debt in dollars.

His was a curious observation. It must have occurred to him that Poland, hard pressed though it may be, is able nonetheless to scrape together the necessary resources to help the aggressors in Viet Nam on a continuing basis. If we insist that Poland pay the \$17 million in dollars, it means that much less to help the enemy. By relieving Poland of the need to pay in dollars, our government thus enables Poland to aid North Viet Nam at a level it otherwise could not afford.

Furthermore, if the Polish government will not pay its debts, the sooner we find out the better. Failure to pay would certainly give President Johnson excellent justification to withdraw his approval of Export-Import Bank credits for Poland.

What has the government of Poland done to justify his concession?

Has Poland reduced its support of our enemy in Viet Nam?

The facts give no hint of such reduction. The Warsaw radio daily villifies our aid to South Viet Nam and calls for support for the aggressors. Poland recently joined other Communist-bloc nations pledging a billion dollars in aid to the enemy. Polish ships continue to carry war material into Haiphong harbor—lethal cargo which is a license to kill American soldiers.

Has Poland granted freedom to its own people?

The facts are to the contrary. Since the celebrated "October revolution" in 1956, when hopeful changes within Poland occurred, the regime has actually tightened its grip on the people of Poland. They have less freedom today than in 1956.

Has Poland broken away from Moscow?

The facts are to the contrary. In recent years the nation has become more dependent on the Soviet Union than ever, and because of a combination of circumstances simply cannot break away.

Has Gomulka promised to make concessions in return? If so, what are the details? Has he agreed to turn off the daily anti-American tirades over radio Warsaw? Has he agreed to stop giving money and material to our enemy in Viet Nam? Has he agreed to stop Polish ships from carrying supplies to North Viet Nam? Has he agreed to grant some freedom to his own people? Has he agreed to reject dictation by Moscow and cooperate instead with the West?

Finally, was the agreement in conformity with the will of Congress as expressed in recent enactments?

Its primary purpose obviously was to ease monetary pressure on the government of Poland. Therefore, it was a form of economic aid. Aid to Poland has been expressly prohibited and restricted by the Congress on several occasions since the Public Law 480 agreements with Poland were consummated.

What is the justification for this exception?

Unless these questions are answered satisfactorily, this episode will be an ironic footnote in American history—an outrageous example of cruel ambiguity. It appears that our government with one hand sends American boys to fight and die in Viet Nam while with the other extends economic aid to a Communist government substantially aiding the enemy.

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of the Marxians and Keynesians — and Mises clearly shows how
their theories actually spread suffering among the poor! One by
one, he sweeps away the glib fallacies of Liberalism and social-
ism. For instance, how many of these fallacies can you effectively
rebut?

- Free-market economics was all right for the 19th century but
it is useless in today's complex economy.
- Capitalism was built on the broken bodies of exploited
workers.
- Businessmen have ravaged our natural resources in their lust
for profit.
- Unemployment is caused by lack of "effective demand".
- Unions have won rich benefits for their members.
- Advertising is a device for defrauding the consumer and
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